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What Congress Must Do to Win the War

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The major consideration of every American today is or should be the winning of this war as fast as possible.

Along with our armed forces and our battlers on the production front, Congress has a great responsibility. Whether we win the war and remain, with ourallies in the United Nations, a strong, free nation, or lose the war and become Hitler's vassals in a Vichy America, may well be decided by Congress.

The elections have been over for more than a week. During the past six months, active campaigns were waged by groups of citizens against certain Members of Congress believed to be isolationists or defeatists. Regardless of the results of the elections, Congress is constituted, by democratic means--except in those places where vast numbers of Americans are disfranchised. This Congress is <u>your</u> Congress, even if your candidates were defeated.

Now the Congress must forget the elections and get down to its part in the war. The part of Congress must harmonize with that of the President and those to whom he has turned for help.

In the past it has been our unfortunate history that presidents, in time of great national peril, have been relentlessly and viciously opposed by strong forces, both in and out of Congress.

Washington was opposed by the tories, the landed aristocracy, the men who fought against the Bill of Rights, that great charter of American freedom.

Jefferson, patriot and democrat, was called a "foreign agent," an agent of France, by his enemies, who were the enemies of democracy.

Jackson, a real people's president, was the victim of a terrible campaign against him by the vested interests of his day, who were the enemies of the people.

Lincoln faced the Civil War, which might have meant the end of the United States, with strong opposition By the Copperheads and such defeatists as the seditious Congressman Vallandigham.

Woodrow Wilson, our last war-time president, was undone by a small band of wilful men who launched a campaign of slander and misrepresentation, largely for political purposes, to keep us from assuming our responsibility for the peace and security of the world. Their success in keeping us out of the League of Nations is one of the major causes of the war in which we are now engaged. The direct cause of this was was the mistakes of the ~~blockdom~~ reactionary leaders of the strongest European powers, the men of Munich and their followers. ~~These men would not have been successful in their policy of strengthening Hitler by appeasement~~ Had they not allowed Hitler to remain they would not have been able to oppress him by allowing him to grab the smaller European powers, exhil Austria and Czechoslovakia ~~fascist masses of America been able to participate in the councils from which we were isolated.~~

But all of the forces which hindered these great presidents of the past are nothing compared to the evil and dangerous coalition that until now has resisted and hampered Franklin D. Roosevelt, our great war-time leader. This coalition must be stopped at all costs if we are to win the war, which we must.

Of what is this coalition composed?

Secret Hitler-lovers and fascist sympathizers who have sat in both Houses of Congress, men who believed in all or part of the foul philosophy of the Axis. Some openly praised Hitler, condoned or justified his horrible crimes, actually espoused his "new order," and said he was a great and good man! As one put it, "Hitler has a date with destiny." Others glorified that poor carbon copy, Mussolini, who was praised for "making the trains run on time."

Ex-Congressman Jacob Thorkelson of Montana, who, I am proud to say, hated me and all I stand for, and whom I fought at every turn, constituted himself the American Goebbels and sought to make of the Congressional Record an American edition of the Voelkischer Beobachter. Before being tossed out of public life by the people of Montana, he dirtied the Congressional Record with the nastiest assortment of Hitlerite filth I have ever seen.

Then there are the Roosevelt haters, a fraternity apparently hating the President more than Hitler. ~~They fought him as they should have, but did not fight Hitler.~~ Recently a prominent Republican Senator, speaking of the President's message on inflation, said of the administrative powers the President called necessary, "I should not hesitate to advise any man that it would be his patriotic duty to refuse obedience to any order issued under them." Another Republican, who, in denouncing the President, found it necessary to use the word "Judas," has made large quantities of this speech available to the biggest sedition ~~ring~~ ring in the history of the country--postage free. A Democratic Member has for years flooded the country with an unholy campaign of misrepresentation, the burden of which is that the President and his associates are trying to "communize" the country.

The best I can say for these gentlemen is that they remind me of John Sharpe Williams, the majority leader when "Uncle Joe" Cannon was Speaker of the House. This well-read man, of considerable intellectual attainment, said, "I love my country, but first I am for the South." The Roosevelt haters may lose their country, but first they hate the President.

Another group is the labor haters, to whom the words "organized labor" are anathema. These men, had they succeeded in some of the things they attempted, would have sacrificed the country on the altar of their hatred for labor. General MacArthur said labor was our "indestructible backbone," but these men are deterred by nothing in their determination to beat down the emancipated working men and women of America. Some of them, apparently, hate labor more than they hate Hitler.

But worst of all, to my mind, are the Red-baiters and Russia haters. All of their opponents, or those with whom they disagree, are promptly labeled "Reds." To them, Mrs. Roosevelt is a "Red," as are Justice Jackson, cabinet members and hundreds of important people in the government. The total effect of their smears and slanders is to wage Hitler's secret war, as anyone familiar with Mein Kampf or recent history knows. The false charge of "communism" has been Hitler's secret weapon in this war. Yet by their reckless Red-baiting and by their long-continued efforts to malign and misrepresent our valiant ally--and need I point out that the Russians have done most of the fighting and dying on our side?--some Members have played the Hitler game of "Divide and Conquer." It appears to me their reason for their calumnious attacks on "Communism" is to help the cause of the Nazis and Fascists.

They must never succeed in causing disunity and misunderstanding between us and our allies!

After three years of a war which has shaken the entire world to its roots, this coalition has continued. Such efforts not only seriously impair our war effort; they may bring about our defeat. Certainly unless something is done, we may become so disunited that, like poor France, we may crumble from within.

What can Congress do about it? Everything. Congress can--and must--become an important Victory factor. What Congress must do is to cease the mistakes of the past and assume responsibilities it has not yet assumed.

First, some of the Members who have indulged in loose talk, jibes at the President and lies about his objectives, must give up this "sport," at least for the duration. A nation at war with the forces of international fascism cannot afford such luxuries, which divide us and spread disunity and bewilderment among the people.

Those who have made speeches used against us by the Nazis must realize the damage they have caused and should stop making them. Unbelievable as it sounds, there was what might be called a "branch office" of the Nazi propaganda machine operating within the halls of Congress. The Department of Justice has closed it, with the connection of George Sylvester Viereck. We must see that it stays closed.

There must be an end to isolationism and defeatism. President Roosevelt didn't make this war. Hitler did. And the Japanese attacked us at Pearl Harbor. We didn't attack them.

If we stop this kind of talk, we are not stifling free speech, but protecting it. We are preventing dangerous license. There is a point at which such tools can become sedition and treason. At that point we must stop. I recommend that those who go further be arrested. Congressmen have sworn to uphold the constitution and protect the nation from all

enemies, foreign and domestic. Those who deliberately spread disunity endanger our war effort and are not true to this oath.

Some Members have defended themselves against charges of opposition to the President by saying that Congress has appropriated all the money he has requested. Even if this were true, and it is not--it is a terrible indictment of this great institution. Congress is not a rubber stamp, a Reichstag voting "Ja" when the President asks for money. Congress must be more than that.

We have, in this emergency, very properly delegated to the President powers he must have to wage war. But we must go further. We must support him with militant, aggressive action.

I have in mind a specific program:

1. We must enact the President's seven-point economic program without further delay.

2. We must end special privilege for the few at the expense of the many. Those with the broadest shoulders must bear the heaviest burden. Those with most money must pay the greatest taxes.

3. We must strengthen the democratic rights of free Americans by ending such Hitlerite phenomena as discrimination and poll taxes.

4. We must guarantee equality of opportunity to all, especially in the war effort.

5. We must rush to the aid of small businesses which are being pushed to the wall, ~~and particularly we must take the monopoly on government business out of the hands of a few large corporations and distribute~~ and, unfortunately, have not received the consideration and treatment they were in-
Add to have been the various departments and bureau heads appointed by the President to carry out the program of supplying our army & navy's needs. They have not carried out the President's instruction not to
~~as much as possible among the competent and loyal small concerns.~~ overload the larger corporations at the expense of the smaller ones.

We must legislate in the interest of the entire nation and give all the people as "square deal".

6. We must be more vigilant in detecting mistakes and failures in the executive branches. Incompetence and subservience to special interests, especially among the dollar-a-year men, might be fatal. We must eliminate all blocks and delays, regardless of where they are found.

And Congressmen who have been telling the people that sacrifice is necessary must learn that Congressmen, too, must make sacrifices if we are to win this war. We must abandon politics as usual, and take our eyes off the ballot boxes. Senator Claude Pepper recently set us a good example when, in voting for the President's powers to control inflation he said, in so doing, he knew it would "cost him votes."

The mistakes of the past are behind us, even if we are still paying for them. We must see to it there are no such mistakes in the future.

In this way Congress can assume its responsibility in the winning of the war.